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The Housing Needs of "Non-Traditional" Households

Urban Consortium Information Bulletin

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THE HOUSING NEEDS

OF "NON-TRADITIONAL" HOUSEHOLDS

An Information Bulletin of the

Community and Economic Development Task Force of the

URBAN CONSORTIUM

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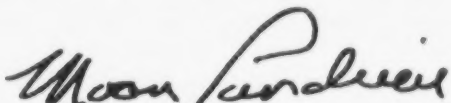
FOREWORD

As a former mayor of New Orleans and a current cabinet officer in the Federal government, I have, I think, a special sense of the worth of this series of Information Bulletins developed by the Urban Consortium with funding from HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research.

Each of these bulletins deals with topics that local officials have identified as priority concerns; all would have been welcomed by me and my staff in New Orleans. They provide non-technical overviews, from the local government perspective, of issues, problems and current approaches for dealing with important community development concerns. I am sure local practitioners will find the bulletins informative. And certainly, from them HUD will gain new insights, useful for addressing the research needs of local governments more effectively.



Moon Landrieu
Secretary

PREFACE

This Information Bulletin is one of several prepared by the Community and Economic Development Task Force of the Urban Consortium.

The Urban Consortium is a formal organization of the nation's twenty-eight largest cities and nine large urban counties, which have joined together to increase the relevance of national research and development programs to the priority needs of urban areas. The Consortium provides a unique forum through which urban governments can work to define their common needs, identify high priority topics for research and development, participate in cooperative research with Federal agencies and researchers, facilitate demonstrations, improve the transfer of information to urban jurisdictions, and provide useful feedback to Federal agencies on proposed initiatives.

The Community and Economic Development Task Force of the Urban Consortium is one of ten Consortium Task Forces which have been organized to focus on priority urban R&D issues in ten functional areas. Through the Task Force, senior-level local government officials work to encourage research, development and demonstration activities which address priority community and economic development needs of large urban governments. Broad areas of concern and interest include: community development, urban economic development, planning, neighborhood revitalization, housing and recreation.

Each Information Bulletin covers a priority local government concern; it is designed to serve two purposes. First, it provides the members of the Task Force with a common information base from

which an overall R&D agenda and specific research initiatives can be developed. Second, it provides government officials, the research community, and others with a general statement of a priority need area, and an indication of the Consortium perspective and interests in seeking research resources to solve a priority problem.

An Information Bulletin concisely states the problem and major issues associated with a needs statement; explores the state-of-the-art and practice; identifies model practices, resource persons, and materials; and suggests potential research initiatives to respond to unmet needs, if any. In many instances, an Information Bulletin has served as a catalyst for local government collaboration with Federal agencies and the research community in addressing a priority local government concern.

The work of the Community and Economic Development Task Force and the development of these Bulletins has been supported by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research under contract #H-2886-RG. The overall program of the Urban Consortium is supported by the National Science Foundation.

Public Technology, Inc. (PTI) serves as Secretariat to the Urban Consortium and provides all staff support to the Consortium and its Task Forces. PTI is a non-profit organization doing research and development for local and state governments. It was established in 1971 by the major public interest groups representing state and local governments. The Board of Directors of PTI is now composed of the Executive Directors of the National League of Cities and the

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Most public housing policies have historically been directed toward the needs of the traditional nuclear family (i.e. two parents and children) and the elderly family. However, the structure of the American family has undergone significant changes in recent years, reflecting new social values, norms and life-styles. With increasing geographic mobility, the extended family has scattered; its power to be a source of support and stability for its members has greatly diminished. These changing demographic and housing patterns have resulted in serious problems for single non-elderly individuals, one-parent families, transients and other "non-traditional" households.

This bulletin provides a descriptive profile, analysis of major issues and description of current activities regarding one-parent families, the elderly and transients in single-room occupancy (SRO) hotels and other "non-traditional" households. It concludes by recommending topics requiring further study. These include: examination of restrictive HUD housing regulations; research into the changing public service and facility demands being placed on cities because of these demographic trends; research on the fiscal effects of changing household compositions on cities; determination of the scope of the problem of one-parent families finding affordable housing opportunities; and analyses of the special housing needs of deinstitutionalized mental patients. The bulletin also lists information resources and a selected bibliography.

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I. PROBLEM STATEMENT

The Problem as Articulated by the CED Task Force

Most public policies on housing, and most public housing programs, have been directed towards the needs of the traditional nuclear family (i.e., two parents and children) and the elderly family. However, the structure of the American family has undergone significant changes in recent years, reflecting changes in social values, norms and life-styles. With increasing geographical mobility, the extended family has scattered; its power to be a source of support and stability for its members has greatly diminished. These changing demographic and housing patterns have resulted in serious problems for one-parent families, elderly and transients in single-room occupancy (SRO) dwellings, and other "non-traditional" households. Current housing policies, programs and regulations generally do not address the special housing requirements of these households.

It appears that little is known about the extent and nature of the housing problems of these households. The Community and Economic Development Task Force has determined that an analysis of the housing needs and deficiencies for these special groups should be undertaken. As part of this analysis, it was also determined that it would be useful to identify the potential range of local approaches for addressing these housing needs and to recommend any specific changes required in Federal housing regulations. Profiles of the key "non-traditional" household groups are described below.

One-Parent Families

Due primarily to the increasing national rates for separation and divorce, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of households where there is only one parent. The reports documents the severe financial and emotional difficulties faced by such households. The particular housing, child care, counseling and peer group needs of such household are explored. Federal programs (e.g. AFDC, Section 8, Food Stamps) are reviewed, along with innovative local projects in Denver, Dallas and LA which combine housing with specialized social services.

Elderly and Transients in SRO's

Many low income elderly, working poor transients and some of society's "misfits" live in single-room occupancy (SRO) hotels, either "by chance" or "by choice". Although national data is scanty, it is clear that there is a significant SRO population concentrated in the downtown areas of many cities with a wide range of personal and social problems. The urban renewal programs of the 1960's and other redevelopment programs of the 1970's have caused the displacement of thousands of SRO tenants in our cities. One problem is that, in spite of the prevailing view of many public officials, SRO's are considered a viable and affordable housing alternative for many low-income elderly and the working poor. New ways to preserve this option and to provide supportive social services need to be examined. Unfortunately, current HUD property standards make it difficult to rehab an SRO. New York's efforts in dealing with the SRO problem were cited as being among the most active. Efforts in Portland, Seattle, Denver and Chicago were

also noted.

Other Non-Traditional Households

Information was also provided on single persons living alone or with others of the same sex, and on single persons sharing quarters with person(s) of the opposite sex. Data was presented to demonstrate the significant size of both these singles' populations. The effects of these population groups on the local housing market and their demands for public facilities and services are examined. Federal housing programs still "discriminate" against these singles. Only New York and St. Louis were identified as having specialized housing programs for these groups.

Research Needs

Five potential research needs are identified: (1) examination of restrictive HUD housing regulations; (2) research into the changing public service and facility demands being placed on cities because of these demographic trends; (3) research on the fiscal effects of changing household compositions on cities; (4) determination of the scope of the problem of one-parent families finding affordable housing opportunities; and (5) analyses of the special housing needs of deinstitutionalized mental patients.

Organization of the Report

In addressing this problem and its overriding issues, this report attempts to detail the serious housing problems faced by non-traditional households. To provide the reader with a basis for understanding

these problems, a profile is provided of these types of non-traditional households - one parent families, tenants of single-room-occupancy dwellings, and other non-traditional households. As part of each profile, characteristics of each group are given and national and/or local statistics are provided to give the reader an idea of the extent of the problem within each group. Following each profile, major housing and service issues are described. This is followed by a description of current activities, both at the Federal and local level, that are being used to address the needs of each type of non-traditional household. These profiles are presented in Chapters Two, Three and Four. Chapter Five presents several important needs for further research.

II. ONE-PARENT FAMILIES

Profile

A. Number and General Characteristics

In recent years, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of children and adults living in households where there is only one parent. The greatest source of increase in the numbers of one parent families is the increasing national rate of separation and divorce. The number of annual legal divorces per 1,000 existing marriages was 1.2 in 1860, 9.4 in 1960 and 15.2 in 1970.[1] As the divorce rate climbs, the trend is also towards divorce at earlier ages and involving more and more children. In 1973, 60% of all divorcing couples had children under the age of 18, a rate which has almost doubled since 1950.[2]

Over 90% of the heads of one parent families are women. These female headed households come from all ethnic groups, with an over-representation of non-whites. Between 1960 and 1974, Anglo-headed families increased 83% while non-Anglo headed families increased by 155.5%. Non-Anglo American women have a slightly higher divorce rate, a higher separation rate and a lower probability of remarriage than do Anglo women. Furthermore, black women are twice as likely to be

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[1]Heather L. Ross and Isabel V. Sawhill, Time of Transition, The Growth of Families Headed by Women, The Urban Institute, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 195.

[2]Toward a National Policy for Children and Families, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., 1976, p. 42.

widowed as Anglo women. They are thirteen times more likely to have an illegitimate child and more frequently keep that child rather than give him/her up for adoption.[3]

The woman who is raising children alone is most likely to live in a large city. Almost 30% of all heads of households under 35 years of age, living in metropolitan areas of three million or more population, are single parents.[4]

Women who are the sole adults in their families are frequently poor. Although there are many one parent families who are not poor, there is an increasing tendency for poverty level families to be headed by women. In 1973, 48% of white, low income families with children were headed by women.[5] In all age groups, female headed families have significantly lower income than either two parent or father only families.

B. Income and Employment

Most of the factors that are contributing to the increase in one parent families also contribute to a dismal, frequently disastrous, financial situation for those families. The result is that we face a national concern for millions of children and parents whose present and future welfare is at risk. Simultaneously, this has resulted in a

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[3]Ross and Sawhill, op. cit., p. 194.

[4]Toward a National Policy for Children and Families, op. cit., p. 26

[5]Ibid., p. 63.

national economic concern over the cost of government assistance and the long term costs of providing health and social services and institutional care.

Despite the general public impression, alimony and child support do not contribute significantly to the financial resources of one parent families. Of all divorced and separated women in the United States, about 14% are awarded alimony and only 46% of these women collect it regularly. Approximately 44% of all divorced mothers are awarded child support and only 45% of these collect it regularly.[6]

Welfare payments have made a more substantial financial contribution to the one parent family than alimony or child support. In fact, over four-fifths of the one parent families with pre-school children are on AFDC. (Aid for Families with Dependent Children).

To some extent, the availability of welfare has contributed to the emergence of single parent families. Many families living on public assistance have learned how to "play the system" by separation, desertion or the appearance of these situations in order to add to a family's income through welfare. The availability of welfare has suppressed remarriage (within four years after divorce 12% of all divorcees remarry, but only 5% of welfare recipients remarry in that time frame).[7]

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[6]Allan F. Abrahamse, David M. Deferranti, Patricia D. Fleischauer, Albert Lipson, AFDC Caseload and the Job Market in California; Selected Issues, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, January, 1977.

[7]Ross and Sawhill, op. cit., p. 120.

Despite the occasional assistance from alimony and child support payments, and the increasing availability of welfare, there is an parent families. According to the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences report of 1976, the median income for a two parent family with at least one child under age six was $12,886 for 1974. The average income for a father-only family with children under six in the same year was $9,226. The total available income for a single mother with children under six in the same year was only $3,891. For the one-third of female headed families whose mothers are under age twenty-five, the median income was even lower, $3,021[8]

The woman who is a single parent has less education, and thus less preparation for well-paying jobs to increase her family's income. In fact, the less schooling a mother has, the more likely she is to be a single parent.[9]

Because of the severe financial strain on the one parent family, and despite the low educational preparation for successful job competition, the woman who is single is very likely to be a working mother. Although women from all educational and income levels are entering the labor market in increasing numbers, the highest rates of working mothers today are those who are single parents.

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[8]Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S., Government, 1974.

[9]Toward a National Policy for Children and Families, op. cit., p. 43.

In 1976, 56% of single mothers with children under age six, and 72% of those with children over age six were working--80% of them are employed full time.[10] Despite these high levels of employment, the incomes of working, single mothers are not substantially above the poverty line. The 1976 median income for female headed families with employed mothers was $7,000 compared to $3,900 in families where the mother was not working.

Limited job opportunities available to women are largely responsible for the low income and/or poverty status of female headed families. Holding constant the important variables of education, job training, and job experience, women generally have access only to lower paying jobs than men, even in traditionally female careers. Public perception and consequently public policy regarding the labor force has lagged behind reality, leaving us unprepared for the growing under-employment problems of single mothers.

C. Effects on Children

And what about the children in these one parent families? It is clear that the percent of children living in families headed by only one adult has increased tremendously in recent years: The increase has been 60% between 1969 and 1970.[11] James A. Levine states the following information in his article title "Real Kids vs. 'The Average' Family," which appeared in the June 1978 issue of Psychology Today.

[10] Ibid., p. 13.

[11] Ross and Sawhill, op. cit., p. 130.

Some 17 percent of all children - one in six - are living in single parent families, an increasing number of them headed by fathers.

Paul Glock, a senior demographer with the U.S. Census Bureau, predicts that 45 percent of those children born in 1977 are likely to live in a single parent family sometime before the age of 18.

As changes in family organization have occurred, there has been increasing concern regarding the effects of one parent status on the development and physical and emotional well being of the children, particularly considering the financial problems and multiple role strain placed on the single parent. While the data available is not adequate to address all questions, some information is known about these children.

It has been established that the child growing up in a female headed home runs a greater than average risk of growing up with the deprivations of poverty. This low income status brings with it a cluster of other risks for children.

One area of concern has been health and the quality of health care available to children in one parent families. Sauber and Corrigan, reporting on a six year study of unmarried mothers in New York City, found in 1970 that the health status of the children of these mothers was significantly lower than for a cross-section sample of all children in the same city.12

Developmental and behavioral problems may also appear disproportional in children of one parent families. The professional literature reports such children have lower self-esteem, intensified fear of separation and abandonment, and to be at risk for the extremes of emotional neglect or over-protection by the parent with custody. In the 1977 report, "The American Family: Raising Children in a Changing Society", Yankelovich reported that the 11% of his sample who were single parents were significantly more insecure about childrearing than other families. The self-reports of the children in these families indicated more unhappiness and less social compatibility with their peers than for children in two parent families. Considering that the single parent is often functioning under stress and without adequate emotional support or knowledge of child development, it is clear that children in these families risk child abuse, both emotional and physical.

A child's development in these families may be limited by a variety of critical absences in his/her environment, such as:

- absence of toys and things for manipulative development;
- absence of materials for concept development;
- absence of interaction with a consistent male (or female) adult;
- absence of an adequate parental understanding of parenting,

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[12]Mignon Sauber and Eileen M. Corrigan, The Six-Year Experience of Unwed Mothers as Parents, Community Council of Greater New York, New York, 1970, p. 127-8.

child development and behavior;

- absence of parental love, care and interaction because parent is using all his/her time to provide a living;
- absence of love and basic physical care, because the child is unwanted or a burden.

Children who are missing these elements month after month, often for years, will have developmental problems, many of which will eventually manifest themselves in behavioral problems. The cost of behavioral problems to our society emerges in the budget of public school systems, law enforcement agencies, correctional institutions, mental health centers and institutions, public hospitals, insurance premiums and a myriad of other places. The millions of children growing up in low income, one parent environments may amount to an "overload" burden which our economy cannot bear. The child's school performance is also likely to be affected by his/her family status. Research indicates that a child's school achievement is affected by the active interest of his/her parent(s) in education, and the degree of family socio-economic stability.[13] These factors vary, as we have shown, with one parent status. Certainly a single parent balancing a job and home responsibilities with the difficulty of single parent transition may find it difficult to provide adequate support for school achievement.

Juvenile delinquency has been found to be related to low income, community attitudes toward the child, quality of adult supervision

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[13]Ross and Sawhill, op. cit., p. 141.

available, family conflict, and child rejection - all variables which may occur in conjunction with family instability.[14]

Major Issues

The needs of one parent families, both for housing and social services, are just now becoming a widespread concern. The emotional and financial stress inherent in the majority of one parent families is tremendous. This stress may, in fact, be a source of instability and disfunction in society as a whole. The emotional depression and tensions of the one parent family may be reflected in society through higher incidence of juvenile delinquency, costs of welfare and unemployment.

A. Special Housing Needs of the One Parent Family

Housing for the one parent family is a pressing need. Returning to the home of one's parents is neither a popular nor a possible option for many adults following divorce or the birth of an illegitimate child. Most adults in these situations attempt to establish households of their own.[15] Such families require housing which; (1) is affordable and safe, (2) provides a supportive environment for both children and adults, and (3) is well located with respect to jobs, public transportation, community services, and educational or job centers.

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[14]Elizabeth Harzog and Cecilia E. Sudia. Boys in Fatherless Families, Children's Bureau, DHEW Publication No. OCD 72-33, Washington, D.C., 1971, p. 19.

[15]Shirley Jenkins, "Planning for Children of Divorce", Child Welfare League, New York, 1976, p. 28.

Housing of any kind, is difficult to find with young children. Many facilities have policies restricting children while many others discourage or refuse by practice and preference.

In order to meet these housing needs, the one parent family must compete with other families in poverty for low cost facilities which are in great demand in our larger cities. In Denver, Colorado, for example, lower income families outnumber government subsidized rental units by a ratio of 10 to 1.[16]

The only "solution" to the housing problem for many one parent families thus becomes a series of undesirable consequences: residing in substandard units, living in over-crowded conditions of more than 1.5 persons per room, and/or paying more than 25% of the family income for housing. These problems are compounded for the minority family which may find fewer private landlords and neighborhoods willing to welcome them as tenants.

B. Child Care Needs of One Parent Families

One critical aspect of the living environment of one parent families is child care in a quality environment which can conveniently provide for the young child's physical safety, mental development, and emotional well-being. After-school care is equally important to the well-being of children aged six to twelve. Child care is essential for single parents, if they are to train for and hold jobs which enable

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16"The Single Parent Family in the Denver Housing Market," Denver Office of Policy Analysis, Denver, Colorado, 1977, p. 1.

them to break the poverty cycle which envelopes the greatest number of one parent families. Despite this obvious need, there were six million working mothers with children under the age of six and child care places for only about one million children in 1972. Although some single parents can manage to work part time or arrange informal child care through neighbors or other family members, there is a severe shortage of child care provision in the United States today. Inadequate federal, state and local funding for child care is one reason for this shortage. The cost of child care, even when it is available, puts it beyond the reach of many low income families.

C. Special Counseling Needs of the One Parent Family

Educational, job training and job placement must be pursued if single parents are to attain financial stability needed to obtain decent housing. Single parents must have access to information about community education programs and job training opportunities for which they may be eligible.

The single parent is likely to need counsel regarding job interview and search techniques, future career planning and preparation, and skills needed to hold a job. For those adults who have never been in the job market, the requirements for punctuality, communication skills acceptance of job supervision may be the keys to successful maintenance of a job.

Personal and family counseling is another need for one parent families. Such counseling may be short-term as the family moves rapidly through a period of transition to healthy stability. In many

families, however, the stress of one parent status on both the children and the adult involved has resulted in the need for more general supportive family services. Such services may include counseling on child development, realistic parental expectations, budgeting, nutrition and interfamily communication.

D. A Community of Peers Need of One Parent Families

One parent families need a community of peers, the support of others who have encountered or are encountering the same problems and stresses, and who can share experiences, understanding and solutions. Shirley Jenkins, author of "Planning for Children of Divorce," found that:

> Self-help and peer group supports are important resources to human problems ... What do the peer groups do for children of divorce? One aspect of their functioning is an advocacy, self-interest position ... Many self-help groups, however, report that they are centers for social, educational, and psychological support for the disrupted family, including the children. They provide an informal support system, which has not been systematically evaluated.[17]

Children, especially during the school years, have need for contact with other children who share some of their experiences and problems. Parents also can gain much from their contact with other adults, in similar situations, easing the isolation of being an adult alone, and sharing mutual problems and solutions. Finally, single parents working together may find themselves better able to affect changes in social policy and programs which affect the one parent

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[17]Jenkins, op. cit., p. 41-43.

family in society.

Current Activities

A. Federal Programs

There are not Federal programs aimed at providing comprehensive services (housing, child care and family counseling) solely for one parent families. However, most of these services are provided in separate programs. HEW, through the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, provides welfare payments to one parent families. HUD, through supplemental housing assistance payments, provides aid to families who are certified as having moved from substandard housing into an FHA sponsored project. Section 8 housing assistance is available on a very limited basis to income qualified families. Public housing is also available, and extensively used for very low income one parent families (though it is widely viewed as the "housing of last resort").

Child care assistance payments are available to low income, working one parent families. Food stamps are widely used by income eligible one parent families. Child care centers are also assisted in their breakfast and lunch programs through the Department of Agriculture.

B. Local Approaches

There are currently only three locally based initiatives attempting to serve the housing and social service needs of the one parent family. They are located in Denver, Dallas and Los Angeles.

In Denver, an institution known as Warren Village provides low

cost housing, child care and family counseling for one parent families. These services are provided in a seven story, eighty-six unit apartment complex that was constructed under FHA 236 sponsorship in 1974. The child learning center complex occupies the entire first floor of the building. The learning center was constructed and furnished with funds obtained from the private sector. The family counseling service was added in the past year and is provided by a certified family counselor. Job referral and education guidance is also provided.

In Los Angeles (North Hollywood), the Volunteers of America (VOA) provide services to one parent families through the Maude Booth Family Center. Both family counseling and day care are provided in the center. Housing is provided in an adjacent 450 unit FHA 221d3 rehabilitation project. Approximately 150 of the housing units are reserved for one parent families.

In Dallas, a conventionally financed project consisting of 40 housing units was providing services to one parent families until it was forced into foreclosure last year. The Maple Lawn Apartments was sponsored by the North Texas Conference of the United Methodist Church. The project was not successful mainly because of its small size and its reliance on conventional financing.

There are other projects serving one parent families in Omaha, Nebraska, and Chicago, Illinois. Both mainly provide social services to one parent families. In Chicago, the local Department of Social Services conducts an outreach program for one parent family tenants of public housing projects.

III. ELDERLY AND TRANSIENTS IN SINGLE ROOM OCCUPANCY DWELLINGS

Profile

A. Number and General Characteristics

Urban renewal in the 1960's in the downtown areas of major cities in the U.S. caused the displacement of thousands of low income tenants of single room occupancy (SRO) hotels.[18] Until this time, the SRO population had been invisible to most people. The elderly SRO occupants are often described as the "least visible" of this invisible population.[19]

SRO hotels are not exclusively for the elderly; in fact, the elderly do not normally constitute a majority of the occupants. However, the elderly are present in high proportions in neighborhoods where SRO's are generally found. Whereas, persons over age 65 constitute 10% of the total U.S. population, it is estimated that the single elderly population in center cities may range as high as 59%.[20]

Nationwide estimates of the SRO population are unavailable, but

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[18]Although national estimates of the loss of SRO units due to Urban Renewal activities are not available, an example can be seen in the city of Seattle where a net loss of 50% of the downtown residential units has occurred since 1960.

[19]Joyce Stephens, Loners, Losers, and Lovers--Elderly Tenants in a Slum Hotel, University of Washington Press, 1976.

[20]"Single Room Occupancy: A Need for National Concern", an information paper prepared for the U.S. Senate Special Committee on Aging, 1978.

estimates have been made for serveral cities.[21]

- In Benton, Illinois (population 6,800), there is one SRO hotel with 30 units, 12 of which are occupied by elderly persons. In addition, there are three SRO rooming-houses with a total of 18 units, four of which are occupied by elderly persons.
- In Syracuse, N.Y. (population 197,000), there are seven SRO hotels, (519 units) -- four with absolutely no services and three with a combination of maid and linen services, television, and/or air conditioning. Nearly one-fourth of the rooms are occupied by elderly persons.
- In Denver, Colorado (population 500,000), a service agency has identified 42 residential hotels in the downtown area, ranging from 18 units to 194 units. Forty-eight percent of the occupants are over 60.
- In San Diego, California (population 697,000), the core downtown area houses 32 residential hotels with upwards of 2,300 rooms. Approximately 59 percent of the rooms are rented on a permanent basis -- over six months. The modal age of this census tract according to the 1970 census was 65-74 years for men and 75 years and over for females.
- In Portland, Oregon (population 383,000), a sampling of four SRO's reveals that 50 percent of the permanent occupants are

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[21] Ibid.

over age 60.

- In New York City, New York (population 7.8 million), 280 SRO's (approximately 50,000 rooms) have been identified by housing and service agencies. Unofficial estimates, however, indicate that as many as 8,000 SRO buildings may be located in New York City. A sampling of the buildings indicates that 18.3 percent of the population is over age 60.

Statistical data on SRO hotels is not available through the Bureau of the Census. The Census Bureau classifies living quarters as either housing units or group quarters. Living quarters in SRO hotels may fall in either category. According to the Census, occupied Rooms in hotels are classified as housing units only when occupied by permanent residents, i.e., persons who consider the hotel as their usual place of residence or have no usual place of residence elsewhere. Vacant rooms in hotels are classified as housing units only in those hotels in which 75 percent or more of the rooms are occupied by permanent residents Thus SRO hotels may typically be classified as composed of both "housing units" or "group quarters". This is complicated by the fact that information on the housing characteristics of group quarters was not collected in the census.

The background and general characteristics of the transient SRO population varies widely. In recent years these drifters of society have tended to be younger. They lead a very dangerous existence, walking a tightrope betweeen life and death. The following story is

all typical of their tenous existence:[22]

"Bonita Reynolds seemed almost destined to become a murder victim. Her death, like the later years of her life, was marked by detour from the normal path of events. Now the course runs straight.

"Reynolds, a petite 26-year old "transient" was found dead March 28 in a downtown Denver alley.

"She had been strangled and had either fallen or been thrown out of a second-story window at the rear of the DeWitt Hotel, 1520 Glenarm Place, which squats in the shadow of the luxuriant Denver Hilton.

"The death was viewed by Denver authorities and the newspapers as yet another homicide of a near non-person. But everybody has roots, no matter how fragile. And detectives or the coroner's office must dig them out to notify survivors.

"Because of numerous detours and missing links in the communications chain, Reynolds' parents in Greensboro, N.C., didn't learn of her fate until Tuesday morning, seven days after she died...

"A close friend of the family in Greensboro, still stunned by the death, recalled some of the threads of Reynolds' life as she changed from a diminutive "Dresden doll" with deep blue eyes to a "transient" in Denver.

"The friend said Reynolds was reared in a strict Southern Baptist environment and that she became disillusioned about life... This caused Reynolds to lose faith in humanity and started her on the downhill slide that eventually led her into drug and liquor abuse and finally to death, the friend said.

"She was married in her late teens, but the marriage ended in divorce sometime after the couple moved to Denver.

"Apparently, Reynolds sought to restore stability to her life, but it eluded her.

"She had worked recently as a model at a downtown 15th Street studio where customers pay to take photographs of nude women.

"The family friend said Reynolds was gullible and that she would have been easy 'to use'.

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[22]Ray Flack, "The Denver Post", Sunday, April 8, 1979.

"'But now, noboby can hurt her.'"

"She was buried Saturday in Greensboro."

Joyce Stephens in his book, Loners, Losers and Lovers, describes how the aged, living in run-down hotels, differ from the traditional view of the elderly as helpless, passive, terrified and dependent. The elderly he describes, living in the deteriorating inner core of our cities, are resilient survivors of their environment. They survive in a hostile environment that breeds alienation and anonymity. They are losers yet survivors. In their "world of the alone", they must meet life on its terms. Those terms often mean living in a fierce environment peopled by petty thieves, pimps, prostitutes, addicts and hustlers. Facing this, life means an aloneness and independence that yields a toughness and dignity that add up to survival.

If conventional institutions for the elderly are dificient, surely it cannot be said that SRO arrangements in the slum hotels of our cities are sufficient. Left to themselves the elderly do cope, and this should command our respect. But we must ask ourselves if this is the best our cities can provide for those who toiled for them so long?

Single-room occupancy hotels are typically located in central cities in deteriorating neighborhoods with high crime rates and low incomes. The typical deteriorating SRO hotel is over a half century old, having reached its apogee in the 1920's to 30's, when it would have been considered one of the better hotels in the city. In the 1940's and 50's the majority of the clientele were prostitutes, pimps

and drifters. In the 1960's and 70's they began to cater to a growing number of permanent, elderly occupants, who now make up a third to a half of the tenants. The typical layout of the hotel contains (1) sleeping rooms, which have no bath facilities, (2) connectors, which share a bath, (3) private rooms, which have their own bath facilities and (4) suites (usually rare) which have private bath facilities and contain more than one room.

The units normally have neither cooking facilities nor refrigerators. They are usually furnished, though the furniture is cheap and generally in need of repair. Peeling paint, leaking pipes and abundant cockroaches are common. During winter months heating is generally inadequate. The hallways are dimly lit, and robberies in these dark areas are frequent. If all this sounds grim -it is. The aged tenants in these buildings are faced with these realities daily. Yet they survive with fortitude, though not without fear - daily fear.

B. The SRO Lifestyle

SRO's are not necessarily the final home on skid row for society's misfits, transient loners and drifters. Although, they do, to some extent, serve that function. For this population of drifters, though, SRO's are a home "by chance" not by choice. There is also a large segment for whom the SRO dwelling is a home "by choice". This includes the low-income elderly and many working poor.

The low income elderly who live in SRO's in the downtown areas of our cities are not typically our grandfathers and grandmothers. They are generally older men (an estimated 85% of the elderly SRO

population are male) who have never been married, and who have mostly lived on the fringes of mainstream society.[23]

They have chosen the SRO lifestyle for several reasons. SRO housing is the choice of many frail and impaired older persons because it offers not only low cost housing, but also offers needed services such as housekeeping, a manager who can be called on in emergencies, meal service through a restaurant located in or near the hotel, and most importantly, the chance to maintain independence and personal dignity.

One of the major advantages of SRO hotel living for the elderly is the degree of independence and automony that it provides. Some may even cherish anonymity. The tenants are free to determine their own schedules, eat when they want, come and go as they will. They are not faced with interference from anyone.

Tenants of SRO hotels are generally dissatisfied with the conditions in which they live. They complain of the deteriorating conditions of the hotel and of the neighborhood. However, no matter how dilapidated the hotel and its surroundings may be, they feel that their living arrangements are superior to any nursing home.

To many elderly, the SRO hotel is far superior than a nursing home, where independence and dignity are seen as being lost. Nursing homes are viewed as an expression of society's rejection of the elderly. As one elderly tenant of an SRO put it:

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[23]"SRO: A National Concern", op. cit.

"They are the final humiliation for old people, the final humiliation.

Oh, the playpens, where people tell you when to get up, when to breathe...

"Old people are not wanted, nobody wants us old geezers. So, they, ah, segregate us, in nursing homes or ghettos. Oh, and the homes are terrible places where they tell you what to do. And what you want doesn't matter at all.[24]

The tenants of SRO's are hostile toward nursing homes. To them, nursing homes represent the loss of independence that they are determined to maintain. They view nursing homes as exploiting the old. Their attitude towards government programs for the aged are expressed with similar suspicion. To them such assistance only means a loss of independence.

Unlike the transient residents, elderly permanent residents regard the hotel as their homes. The elderly tend to congregate in the public areas of the hotel and spend most of their time within the hotel.

The transients look upon the hotel only as a place where they can have cheap lodging for a day or a week. Their connection to the hotel is only as a place to sleep. They rarely congregate in the public areas of the hotel and spend little time in the hotel.

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[24]Stephens, op. cit.

The work histories of SRO tenants is generally episodic. Few have had occupational careers. For the most part they are concentrated in low paying, intermittent types of employment - vendors, spot laborers, seasonal workers, carnival hustlers. For most, retirement was not an event that occurred on a particular day and terminated a career; rather, it happened gradually as they became less and less able to find even low paying jobs, including street vending, spot labor, "go-fors", and the many forms of hustling. Few receive pensions. Most depend on social security and money picked up from occasional jobs.

C. Service Needs

The service need of the SRO population is very difficult to define, mainly because they are so diverse. SRO's may contain sizeable numbers of alcoholics, drug addicts, mentally ill, and very poor infirmed elderly. There are many health problems related to poor nutrition, drugs, alcohol, etc. Many of the SRO population, because of their multiple health problems, may exhibit characteristics of the elderly by the time they are 45.

Social or recreational programs are seldom provided in SRO's and when an SRO tenant goes to city-sponsored senior citizen centers, he often feels out-of-place and even unwelcomed. The SRO elderly have little in common with the more traditional elderly who frequent senior citizen centers. They are often unkept and may exhibit anti-social behavior that is disturbing to others.

Management in an SRO is often a source of problem. Some of the managers are good, and are relied on by the tenants for help in an emergency, or even in solving day-to-day problems. Others may only exploit the tenants. The manager may exercise tremendous control over the lives of the residents of the hotel, who are dependent on his goodwill for their continued tenancy.

Major Issues

A. Household Displacement

Displacement is generally defined as the involuntary movement of households out of their neighborhoods. Those displaced are generally poor and often minorities. Those who do the replacing are generally considered to be young professionals who are often single or at least do not have children. Non-traditional households are involved in this issue both as displacees in the case of SRO's and as replacees in the case of young single persons (to be discussed in the next chapter as "other non-traditional households").

The issue is sharpest in cities like Denver where the transients and single elderly, the SRO's, are congregated in the central business district, which is triving and growing. The SRO's are in buildings which are on valuable land and which periodically are torn down or converted to other uses. The biggest loss of downtown hotels was from the Skyline Urban Renewal project which was begun in the late 1960's. Almost all of the land has been sold or at least has pending proposals. Three apartment towers provide housing to lower-income elderly persons.

Another one or two have been proposed. However, because of the time lag between when the hotels were torn down and when the housing is built, it is unlikely that it serves any of the displacees of the renewal project. Also transient and elderly downtown residents generally do not want apartments but prefer residential hotel living.

Although not as dramatic, other downtown residential hotels are gradually being torn down or converted to other uses. There have been over 500 rooms lost during the last five years, and hotels with another 500 rooms have recently been vacated. There are currently 700 or 800 elderly persons and about the same number of non-elderly persons living in these hotels.

Given the fact that SRO's are often not considered a good neighbor by downtown merchants, office tenants, and office workers, how can housing continue to be provided while still accommodating downtown growth?

Neighborhood revitalization is a universal aim of central cities. It is only relatively recently that success has been achieved and also relatively recently that displacement has been recognized as an undesirable side effect of neighborhood revitalization. The young professionals who are among the first to purchase or rent housing in deteriorated inner-city neighborhoods make many positive contributions. They provide purchasing power which can lead to the revitalization of rundown commercial areas, rehabilitate rundown housing, and provide civic leadership to help improve neighborhood services. Neighborhood revitalization leads to increased property tax revenues. But it also

can lead to displacement of lower-income households. The issue is how to encourage households including non-traditional ones to participate in the revitalization of inner-city neighborhoods while minimizing displacement and avoiding the creation of hardships for lower-income residents.

B. Preserving SRO's as a Viable Housing Alternative

SRO dwellings are viewed by many officials, both at the local and Federal level, as undesirable for permanent housing. However, this type of housing is the choice of many low income elderly as well as working poor.

The elderly choose SRO's because of the ability it provides for independent living. The SRO provides the elderly with maid and other room service, a degree of security by having an on-site manager (often 24 hours a day), and convenient food service, either in the form of a restaurant in or near the hotel or in the form of congregate dining facilities. The elderly are also able to budget their meager funds more easily by paying weekly or bi-monthly in the hotel.

Although SRO's are proving to be a viable housing alternative, their existence continues to be threatened. In the 1960's this threat came in the form of massive downtown urban renewal, as cities attempted to cure core area blight through unrelenting clearance projects. Now the threat to SRO's is coming from private redevelopment efforts. In some cities, such as Denver, developers are demolishing SRO housing to be replaced by parking garages or office developments. In other cities, such as New York, SRO's are being converted

to apartment and condominium units. In both instances, the low income elderly and working poor are being displaced, usually without any compensation.

Ways must be found for preserving SRO's as a viable housing alternative. As a temporary measure, some cities are enacting moratoriums on the demolition of housing. Other cities are utilizing portions of their Community Development Block Grant money to rehabilitate selected SRO downtown hotels. More efforts are needed, however, especially at the Federal level, to preserve the nation's stock of SRO housing.

C. Need for Outreach Services to SRO Tenants

Outreach services from existing social service agencies are badly needed by SRO tenants. Without such outreach efforts by these agencies, the SRO elderly will generally never receive the assistance that is otherwise available to them. In general, SRO tenants mistrust the system and make no attempt to deal with it.

Since most of these tenants can benefit from assistance in various aspects of their lives, there is an unlimited variety of services which can be brought to them. This includes help with social security payments, welfare or pension checks, medical and mental health services, recreation, counseling, alcohol and drug abuse assistance, as well as many other services.

Current Activities

A. Federal Programs

There is a total lack of appropriate housing legislation which would allow for the maintenance of the SRO lifestyle that is the choice of many low income elderly. Such housing legislation will require an integration of housing assistance and social service assistance to meet the distinct needs of the SRO population.

Contrary to the national goal of preserving the existing housing stock of our cities, current Federal housing programs are not appropriate for the rehabilitation of SRO facilities. Under HUD minimum property standards, the Section 202 and other programs may only be used for "self-contained" units, i.e., units with private baths and kitchen units, or which have congregated dining.

Practically speaking, to rehabilitate an SRO hotel under the minimum property standards means not only the loss of 50% of the units, but also a substantial increase in the rental costs.

In addition, Section 8 rental assistance payments are not authorized for non-self-contained units, so SRO tenants may not be assisted through this program either.

If SRO's are accepted as a viable housing form, it will be necessary to create a separate set of standards for SRO's which would enable these facilities and their tenants to avail themselves of already existing Federal programs.

If minimum property standards specifically applicable to SRO's were established, this would then permit the use of already existing subsidy and financing programs. Section 8 rent assistance programs would then be available to SRO's and adequate funding assistance programs, either through Section 202 or FHA insurance would be applicable to SRO's.

Improved housing will not solve the social problems and/or needs of the population which traditionally has chosen SRO living. However, social problems are exacerbated when methods of improvement and upgrading are unavailable for deteriorating residential hotels.

Improved housing conditions, combined with appropriate supportive services, will make a major impact on the lives of the SRO tenants and the communities around them.

B. Local Government Approaches

New York City is perhaps more actively involved than any other city in developing programs to deal with SRO housing and providing services for SRO tenants. The Mayor's Office of SRO Housing, headed by Laurence Klein, is the lead agency of the city dealing with the problem of SRO's. Utilizing a staff of only three, the agency acts mainly as a coordinator of services provided by twenty-one different agencies for SRO's in the city. It was set up to cut across all of the social and housing problems in SRO's.

One of the most serious problems with SRO's in New York City is their conversion to multi-family housing for middle and upper-middle income households. It has been estimated that there may be as many as 100,000 to 150,000 SRO's in the city, but many of the better buildings are being taken over in the process of gentrification. This is being spurred through a city tax abatement ordinance, titled J51, whose original purpose was to encourage the rehabilitation of dilapidated multiple-family dwellings. Up to 90 percent of the improvement cost of a building may be abated from taxes through this ordinance. The

increased valuation, which would otherwise occur because of the improvement, is also exempted from taxes. Recently, J51 has been extended to conversion of various types of buildings into multi-family dwellings. This has made it financially advantageous for owners of SRO buildings to convert their buildings to multi-family dwellings. Since the provisions of J51 were extended to SRO's, thousands of SRO tenants have been displaced. The 20 year tax abatement has been used to spur gentrification in ammy neighborhoods. This is another example of the long history of dislocation to which the SRO population has been subjected in urban redevelopment and revitalization efforts in our cities.

The SRO population is also being subjected to a very large onslaught of mental patients released from state mental institutions. In New York state there were 400,000 exits of mental patients from state hospitals in a ten year period -- with no follow up care provided. It is estimated there are 40,000 ex-mental patients in New York City, many in SRO's.

Because of the very large number of ex-mental patients in SRO's, an outreach service is needed to provide counseling and other assistance. Reinstitutionalization of persons with mental illness does not seem to be the answer, since a continuing cycle is simply established between state hospitals and SRO's in the city.

Many of the SRO buildings in the city are in extremely poor condition, and are a health and safety hazard to tenants. In these instances the Mayor's Office on SRO Housing will coordinate a concerted code enforcement effort to document code violations, and have a building

closed if necesary.

Many of the SRO buildings are owned by the city through tax defaults and abandonment. It is estimated that as many as 150,000 persons are living in buildings owned by New York City. To alleviate this problem, the city is encouraging the formation of community management groups who use "sweat equity" to gain ownership of the buildings. This is a costly process for the city, but in the long run it pays off in improved neighborhood and housing conditions. The Mayor's Office on SRO Housing is seeking to piggy-back onto this program to get more community management groups as owner/occupants of SRO housing.

New York City is also carrying out a program of improved services to SRO tenants through the Office of Special Housing Services of the Human Resource Administration in the New York Department of Social Services. Mr. Robert Jorgen, director of that office has been active both locally and nationally in trying to improve social service delivery to SRO tenants. Public assistance is provided by on-site staff at 15 SRO's. On a six month basis, assessments are made of the condition of SRO housing and tenant needs.

The city of Portland, Oregon, is also actively participating in providing service and housing rehabilitation for the SRO population in its central city. The Portland Development Commission began a rehabilitation loan program in 1976 to assist investor/owners of residential, commercial or mixed-use properties that are: 1) located in a housing and community development area of the city, 2) are in need of rehabilitation to comply with applicable codes of the city and 3) are physical-

ly and financially feasible for such rehabilitation based on projected income and market potential. In addition, Portland is utilizing its community development block grant funds to provide 3% loans to owners of SRO hotels to assist them in bringing to buildings up to code.

The city of Seattle is currently using a portion of its community development block grant money to write down the cost of rehabilitating SRO's. The Housing Authority of Seattle, in fact, owns one transient hotel that was purchased with Model Cities money, and is using EDA money for renovation.

In Denver a local group of core city churches are banding together to try to take advantage of the city's stock of SRO housing in the downtown area. The core city committee of the Denver Council of Churches is facilitating the purchase and renovation of an old hotel, to provide low cost housing to the elderly poor. Almost every city in the nation contains a substantial stock of such housing, generally in the downtown area. Opportunities exist to remove these blighting buildings and provide decent low cost housing for the elderly poor.

Two years ago, the Chicago Department of Planning began a planning study to develop neighborhood typologies. The idea was to look at neighborhoods as a "function". Data was collected citywide to determine if there were communities that could be identified by function, rather than by geographical identification. As part of this effort, neighborhoods were identified that functioned as "transient communities".

It was found that the function of a neighborhood would determine the type of support services that would accumulate around them. For instance in skid row areas, support services such as day labor offices,

transient hotels, alcoholic treatment centers, etc., would accumulate in these neighborhoods. This phenomena, of course, is intuitively obvious to most of us. What is unique, is that Chicago proposed to attempt to link the functioning of a neighborhood with city policies and programs that tended to bring that function about. Unfortunately, other issues have forced postponement of the project. The Assistant Director of Planning, Marty Goldsmith, has suggested the project as a possible future research topic for the Consortium.

C. Current Research

Extensive research has been done on the lifestyle of the tenants in SRO hotels. Western Behavioral Sciences Institute (WBSI), through the auspices of the National Institute for Mental Health's Center for Studies of Metropolitan Problems, conducted a four year ethnographic study of SRO residents in San Diego. That study detailed the characteristics of SRO residents, including personalities and life trajectories. A second study on the SRO elderly was also conducted by WBSI for the Administration on Aging.

The WBSI study revealed an interesting change that has taken place in the personality traints of five different age cohorts of men in SRO's.

The study (which included Santa Barbara as well as San Diego SRO hotels, showed marked similarities in the personality types of four of the five age cohorts that ranged from men who were 18 to 22 years old at the time of World War I, to men of that age in the Vietnam Era. The life styles and life histories were found to be very similar for

this span of five generations of SRO residents. However, values held by the residents as to relationship with others and determined self reliance were similar for only the first four age cohorts. The last cohort (Vietnam era men) exhibited a dependant personality. The Vietnam era SRO residents viewed life as owing them a living, and they developed many dependency patterns in their life styles.

Health patterns of SRO residents were studied by a medical anthropologist who is now with the University of California Medical Center in San Franciso. Dr. Kevin Eckhart lived for one year in an SRO hotel in San Diego, in an area that was designated for urban redevelopment. He studied the effects of the government planning process on SRO residents, including their lifestyle adjustments and coping strategies as a result of urban renewal. Titled "Urban Renewal and Redevelopment: Risk for the marginally Subsistent Elderly", Eckhert's study will soon be published in the Gerontologist. The study deals with the coping problems of permanent residents of "tenderloin" (slum) areas, not just the skid row homeless of such areas.

National conferences, sponsored by the Institute of Applied Gerontology, were held in St. Louis in 1975 and 1976 to discuss problems of the elderly SRO residents. At the second conference a national executive board was created, and subsequently met in January, 1977, to prepare statements regarding 1) population identification, 2) housing characteristics, and 3) service needs and utilization.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development has recently contracted for a national study of the housing needs of the single non-elderly poor. Contract Research Corporation of Belmont, Massachu-

setts, is conducting the study. HUD was given a congressional mandate to determine the extent of housing needs of the single non-elderly non-handicapped poor, and the current study is in response to that mandate. The study will be used to determine to what extent HUD should go on providing housing assistance for the single non-elderly non-handicapped poor. Currently there is a percentage limit on the numbers of single non-elderly allowed in HUD assisted housing, and priority status given to other categories of poor effectively eliminate the single non-elderly from receiving any housing assistance.

Contract Research will be conducting its study in three phases. The first phase (which is now in process) involves data gathering on the population and housing characteristics of the single non-elderly poor in eleven cities across the nation. The cities for the study were chosen on the basis of 1) regional distribution (one city from each of the ten HUD regions), 2) those cities in which the Census Bureau has conducted its Annual Housing Survey (AHS) and 3) those cities for which data can be disaggregated into central city and non central city. The cities involved in the first phase of this study are Boston, New York, Baltimore, Atlanta, Milwaukee, New Orleans, St. Louis, Denver, Los Angeles, Seattle and San Diego.

Some difficulty is being experienced in this first phase data gathering of the study. Three data sources from the Census Bureau are being used--the Annual Housing Survey, the Survey of Income and Education, and the 1976 Current Population Survey. The sample size for the Annual Housing Survey in each city is very small, and SRO housing data is difficult to obtain because of this. Denver, for instance, showed

no SRO housing in its AHS. This occurred because SRO's are limited to a small geographical area in the city--which was appearently missed in the sampling process. There have also been problems with merging the data in the Annual Housing Survey and the Survey of Income and Education. Also, data is completely lacking on group quarters in the AHS,.and is undercounted in the SIE. In trying to resolve some of these problems, Contract Research may be contacting cities to gain locally based statistics on SRO's and their tenant population.

Preliminary data in the first phase of the study would seem to indicate that 10% of the one person households in the U.S. reside in SRO's, and that there is a very high rate of need based on their very low income status. Preliminary estimates are that 80% of this SRO population would be eligible for housing assistance.

The second phase of the study will be to choose three out of the eleven cities to do extensive interviewing. Interviews will be conducted of 1) SRO occupants, 2) SRO managers and 3) support service agencies working with SRO tenants. The purpose of the interviews will be to determine what SRO occupants want in terms of housing and services, what they get and how support services are provided.

The third phase of the study will be a determination of the condition of the available housing stock utilized by the single non-elderly non handicapped poor. Estimates may then be made of what is needed to bring these housing units up to standard condition.

IV. OTHER NON-TRADITIONAL HOUSEHOLDS

Profile

A. Number and Types

There are three other categories of non-traditional households. The first of these is single persons living alone or sharing living quarters with others of the same sex. The second category is single persons sharing living quarters with one or more persons of the opposite sex. The third category is gay persons living together. For each of the first two categories, some data will be presented which indicates the number of persons in these categories and the trends. Also, the reasons for the increased number of persons falling into these first two categories will be discussed. Research on gays is beyond the scope of this information bulletin.

In 1975, there were 47,000,000 unmarried adults in the United States! This represents one-third of the population 18 years of age or older. These unmarried adults can be subdivided into adults who have never married, who are separated, divorced or widowed.

TABLE I

Marital Status of the Population (Age 18 and Over) by Sex for the United States in 1975

Marital Status	Men		Women	
	#	%	#	%
Single	19,098,000	21.0	11,007,000	14.7
Separated	1,250,000	1.8	2,305,000	3.1
Divorced	2,545,000	3.8	3,978,000	5.3
Widowed	1,817,000	2.7	10,104,000	13.5
Married	47,235,000	70.7	47,366,000	63.4
	67,235,000	100.0%	74,760,000	100.0%

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 287, "Marital Status and Living Arrangements, March, 1975," U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1975. Table 1. excerpted from Single by Peter Stein, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976, Table X, pp. 112, 113.

The data for the City and County of Denver shows a much higher percent of single adults. Other central cities of metropolitan areas probably also have higher percentages of singles than the national proportions. For men, 21% are singles in the United States and 31% are single in Denver. Nearly, 26% of women are single in Denver.

TABLE II

Marital Status of the Population (Age 18 and Over) by Sex and Age for Denver, Colorado in 1978

Male

	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-64	65+	Total
Single	91.5%	63.7%	39.9%	20.0%	10.2%	6.0%	3.3%	31.0%
Separated	0.0	1.9	0.7	2.0	2.4	0.9	1.8	1.4
Divorced	2.8	0.3	8.9	14.6	10.6	8.4	6.6	7.8
Widowed	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.0	2.8	16.2	2.8
Married	5.7	34.1	50.2	63.2	76.7	82.0	72.2	57.1
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Female

	18-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-64	65+	Total
Single	74.5%	51.6%	32.3%	15.2%	8.0%	6.0%	7.4%	25.8%
Separated	1.0	2.6	1.6	3.2	4.3	2.7	0.8	2.3
Divorced	0.0	2.9	13.3	16.5	19.7	8.2	5.6	9.4
Widowed	1.0	0.3	0.3	0.5	5.5	17.2	50.2	13.0
Married	23.5	42.6	52.5	64.6	62.5	66.0	35.9	49.5
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Denver Office of Policy Analysis 1978 Household Survey, unpublished

A look at the trends indicates that the proportion of single persons has increased since 1970. The most dramatic increase is in the percent of adults who are divorced.

TABLE III

Trends in Marital Status
United States 1970 - 1975

	Men			Women		
	1970	1975	% Changes	1970	1975	% Change
Single	28.1%	29.5%	4.9%	22.1%	22.8%	3.1%
Separated	1.3	1.6	23.0	2.2	2.8	27.2
Divorced	2.2	3.3	50.0	3.5	4.8	37.1
Widowed	2.9	2.4	-17.2	12.5	12.1	-3.2
Married	64.3	62.3	-3.1	58.4	56.9	-2.6
	100%	100%		100%	100%	

Denver 1970 - 1978

	Men			Women		
	1970	1978	% Changes	1970	1978	% Change
Single	29.0%	31.0%	6.9%	24.7%	25.8%	4.5%
Separated	1.9	1.4	-26.3	2.3	2.3	0.0
Divorced	5.3	7.8	47.2	7.4	9.4	27.0
Widowed	3.0	2.8	-6.7	13.1	13.0	-0.8
Married	60.8	57.0	-6.1	52.4	49.5	-2.6
	100%	100%		100%	100%	

Source: Stein, Single p. 13; 1979 Census PHC(1)-56; and OPA Household Survey (Unpublished).

There has been an increase in the number of young single persons who have never married from 1969 to 1975. In the 20 to 24 age group, the percent of single women has increased dramatically from 28.4% to 40.3% and the percentage of single men has increased from 53.1% to 59.9%. In the 25 to 29 age group, the percentages for women are 10.5% in 1960 and 13.8% in 1975. The percentages for men are 20.8% and 22.3%.

The above data indicates convincingly that the number of unmarried adults in increasing. The data for Denver shows that for at least one central city, the proportion of single adults is close to one-half of the population. Only 49.5% of adult women in Denver are married and only 57.1% of adult men are married (see Table II). However, the data does not tell us much about the living arrangements of adults or the type of housing that is desired.

B. Living Patterns

The following table provides information about the living patterns in Denver. The 2,885 households, whose responses allowed them to be categorized, were divided into those with a married couple, with atleast one male and at least one female who were not married, with only adult women (one or more), and with only adult men (one or more).

TABLE IV

Living Arrangements of Households in Denver

	% of Total Households	
Married	48.8%	
With children less than 18		20.9
With other adults		4.1
With no others		23.8
Unmarried male-female	5.3%	
With children less than 18		0.8
With non-related persons only		2.3
With related persons		2.2
Female	29.3%	
With children less than 18		5.9
With other adults		4.0
Living alone		19.4
Male	16.7%	
With children less than 18		0.7
With other adults		2.7
Living alone		13.3
		100%

Source: 1978 Denver Office of Policy Analysis Household Survey, unpublished.

Less than one-half of the Denver Households consist of "traditional households, a husband and wife living together. Almost one-half of

these married households are living without other persons. They consist of childless younger couples and empty-nesters. Over 5% of Denver households are unmarried male-female ones. Nearly one-half of these households consist only of non-related persons. They include unmarried couples and "three's a company" households. Nearly one-third of the households consist of a male or female living alone. This compares to 21% for the U. S. in 1977 which represents an increase of 45% from 1970 to 1977. Nearly one-fifth of the households are females living alone. A means of coroborating this startling information on the number of single persons living alone is to analyze the change in population and the increase in numbers of housing units from 1970 to 1978. The population of Denver has either remained the same according to the estimate of the Denver Planning Office or declined by 30,000 persons according to the U. S. Census Bureau. However, the number of housing units has increased by 35,000.

There is some evidence that single persons, especially women, are choosing to purchase rather than rent housing in increasing numbers. An analyses of the households taking advantage of the Denver Housing Development Bond Issue provides supporting evidence. This revenue bond issue provides 8% mortgage loans to Denver households earning less than $20,000. Out of the first 767 loans that were closed, 61.1% were to one person households. While 25.3% of the loan recipients were married households, 41.0% were single women and 28.2% were unmarried males. About 5% were unmarried male-female households. It is also instructive to note that over one-half of the loans were for the purchase of condominiums.

C. Reasons for Choosing the Single Lifestyle

The research is very limited on the reasons for the changes in living patterns that have been indicated by the above data. Peter Stein in his book Single concludes, "Since the research on singles is just beginning, there are currently more questions to be asked than there are available answers: When and why are decisions made to remain single or to marry, to cohabit or to separate? Who chooses singlehood? Who is pushed into marriage - and who is pushed into singlehood as a reaction against marriage? What support structures will continue to emerge for those who choose to remain single? The information available on the reasons for being single consists of anecdotal information from newspaper and magazine articles, a few surveys of relatively small numbers of single persons, and hypotheses based on sociological theory or common sense.

Single people have been stereotyped as being either swingers or lonely losers. The single life was considered to be a temporary state between adolescence and marriage. American society in many ways sociologizes children to expect to be married as the normal way to live. The increase in the number of persons remaining single for a longer period of time or as a way of life can be viewed as the result of a breakdown in this sociolization process as well as the reaching out for positive aspects of single life.

These positive aspects include greater independence and mobility, the proliferation and greater acceptance of new living arrangements that provide some important support, economic reasons, and a greater emphasis on careers especially by women. The greater independence and

mobility in a single life is a result of being able to make decisions alone including being able to choose one's own friends. The new or at least more prevalent living arrangements are unmarried couples, gay couples, three persons of mixed sexes, and communal living. The economic reasons in some cases are caused by IRS regulations or Social Security laws which may influence an elderly man and woman to live together without getting married. The increased interest in careers, especially by women, also raises other influences of the women's movement that affect decisions about remaining single.

Major Issues

A. Changing Demands in the Housing Market

The rapid growth in household formation even in cities with stable or declining populations is putting a great deal of pressure on the existing housing stock. In some cities this pressure can be relieved by getting abandoned residential properties back into use. In other cities, it can only be relieved through new construction. However, the type of housing which is needed is different than it was five or ten years ago. The housing needs of non-traditional households are different than for traditional households. Perhaps more efficiency and one bedroom apartments rather than two or three bedroom apartments should be constructed for singles living alone. Or perhaps more two bedroom, two bathroom apartments appealing to singles sharing apartments are needed. The issue is whether the private market is responding appropriately to this changing demand; and, if it is not, what role should cities play in influencing the housing market?

B. Responding to Changing Public Facility Needs

The increasing number of single persons in cities also raised a question about the need for different public facilities or re-using public facilities to cater to a different population. Many public facilities including recreation centers, parks, and zoos often are youth-oriented. Given a decline in the number of children, should their orientation be changed? Should public facilities and services be altered to attract more single persons or should they be enhanced to retain traditional families?

C. Social Service Need of Non-traditional Households

Non-traditional households have special social service needs as well as housing needs. These service needs are best provided as part of the living environment. However, this is sometimes only possible in specialized housing. Where specialized housing or at least housing with a concentration of one type of household is not present, outreach services need to be provided. Who will pay for these services and who will provide them? What effects does the changing household composition have on the need for more traditional city services or for new services that are not now being provided.

D. Exclusionary Land Use and Zoning

Land use and zoning regulations have traditionally been developed on hierarchical patterns, where the purest use has been set aside for the "traditional" single family house. In some cities this has been taken to the extreme case of designating some single family zone districts for use solely by "traditional" families. For example, in

Denver, one type of single family zone district, R-O, does not allow non-traditional families, such as groups of singles or unmarried couples, to occupy a single family dwelling. Despite the drastic changes that have taken place in household composition in central cities, many such land use and zoning regulations continue.

Exclusionary zoning practices in many suburban communities also limit, if not completely forbid, the construction of higher density housing to serve non-traditional households who may compose the majority of the work force in those communities.

Cities need to re-examine their land use and zoning regulations to eliminate discriminatory practices against non-traditional households.

Current Activities

A. Federal Programs

Federal housing programs for low-income people were originally designed for families only. The Federal definition of "family" has been gradually broadened over the years to include single elderly, then single handicapped and recently (in the 1976 Housing Authorization Act) to now include single non-elderly, non-handicapped individuals. However, these "other" non-traditional households are placed last on the eligibility list for HUD assisted housing and public housing. The number of these single persons is limited to a maximum of 10% of the units.

These Federal programs do not recognize, however, the tremendous need that exists for these households, especially in very large metropolitan areas such as New York City. Many professionals familiar with

housing needs, believe that eligibility for low income housing should be based solely on need, defined in terms of income, not on marital status.

B. Local Government Approaches

New York City is perhaps the most active in addressing the needs of single non-elderly non-handicapped households. In 1974 the Community Council of Greater New York released a report entitled "People Who Live Alone in New York City". The report stated that the city is becoming composed, more and more, of one-person households. By 1970, they constituted one-fourth of all households in the city. As discussed earlier, New York City has established several programs, and special purpose agencies, aimed at serving the needs of non-traditional households such as the single non-elderly, non-handicapped poor.

In St. Louis, the local public housing agency has actively experimented in providing housing for the single working poor. Contrary to the fears of many officials at HUD and in Congress, this has not resulted in the displacement of elderly or handicapped persons. The units occupied by the single working poor are one bedroom units, originally designed for the elderly, but located in family housing projects which the elderly find undesirable.

V. RESEARCH NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Potential research initiatives in this area of interest to local officials might include:

HUD Program Review

A review of HUD housing programs should be conducted in order to determine how they can be made applicable to non self-contained units such as SRO housing. This review should include minimum property standards for the Section 8 program especially for the existing rent supplement program. It should also include reviewing FHA insurance programs since it is difficult to finance the purchase and renovation of residential hotels without insurance. This review of HUD programs may indicate the need to modify existing programs or create new ones.

Public Services Analysis

Research is needed on the extent of change in the household composition of cities and the public service and public facility needs of non-traditional households. If their facility and service needs are different, are cities responding to these changing needs? For instance, is there a need for more day care facilities because of the increasing number of one-parent families and are cities responding by providing more day care facilities?

Fiscal Effects

Research needs to be conducted on the fiscal effects of changing household compositions. Do increasing numbers of single persons and the consequent declines in numbers of school children enhance the

fiscal condition of cities? Or should incentives be provided to keep traditional families in central cities? In what way can cities best use the revitalization opportunities that single, non-elderly individuals provide, while minimizing displacement.

Needs of One-Parent Families

Determination needs to be made concerning the seriousness of the problem of one-parent families and low income families with children generally in finding affordable rental housing. Is the banning of children or charging of higher rents if children are present a significant contributor to the problem? If it is, means of preventing this practice need to be explored such as adding presence of children to existing housing legislation that prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, sex, age, and marital status.

Needs of the Deinstitutionalized

Is there a need for special for special housing or special outpatient services to ex-mental patients?

VI. INFORMATION RESOURCES

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